

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BELGRA 00883 01 OF 02 141138Z

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 DHA-02

BIB-01 SAJ-01 ACDA-07 /069 W

-----141146Z 032646 /15

R 140845Z FEB 77

FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9566

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMCONSUL ZAGREB

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 883

EO 11652 GDS

TAGS: PINT SHUM YO

SUBJ: FOREIGN PRESSURES SEEN IN PRESS COVERAGE OF DISSENT

REF: (A) 76 BELGRADE 715, (B) 76 BELGRADE 1390, (C) ZAGREB A-13,
APRIL 19, 1976, (D) 76 BELGRADE 2255, (E) BELGRADE 715

1. SUMMARY: GOY SPOKESMAN SEES FOREIGN FORCES BEHIND
CAMPAIGN OF CRITICISM ON HUMAN RIGHTS. HIS STATEMENT IS
FIRST PUBLIC REPORT HERE OF PETITION ON FREEDOM OF TRAVEL
SENT TO CONSTITUTIONAL COURT (REF E). WHILE YUGOSLAV
CSCE EXPERT EXPECTS LOW KEY GOY REACTION TO DISSENT AND
PRESS REPORTS THEREOF, HARSH MAGAZINE EDITORIAL ATTACKS
WESTERN CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. END SUMMARY.

2. AT HIS REGULAR THURSDAY BRIEFING, FOREIGN SECRETARIAT
SPOKESMAN MIRKO KALEZIC WAS ASKED ABOUT FOREIGN PRESS
REPORTS OF A PETITION SENT TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT
REGARDING THE FREEDOM OF TRAVEL. HE ACKNOWLEDGED
THAT THE PETITION WAS BEING CONSIDERED BY THE COURT IN
ACCORDANCE WITH THE CONSTITUTION. HE THEN CONTINUED
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PAGE 02 BELGRA 00883 01 OF 02 141138Z

ACCORDING TO "POLITIKA": "THE FACT THAT IN CONNECTION WITH
THIS QUESTION THERE ARE ATTEMPTS ABROAD TO LAUNCH A FORM
OF CAMPAIGN, TO WHICH FRESH CHARGES ARE NOW BEING ADDED,
SHOWS US ITS TRUE MOTIVATION. THIS IS ONLY ONE OF THE
ATTEMPTS TO DRAG YUGOSLAVIA INTO THE BLOC CONFRONTATION
WHICH IS NOW UNDERWAY IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES IN CONNECTION
WITH THE PROBLEMS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND IMPLEMENTATION OF

THE HELSINKI DOCUMENTS". HE SAID YUGOSLAVIA WOULD RESIST ANY INVOLVEMENT IN SUCH A CAMPAIGN AND CONTINUED, "WE CANNOT CLOSE OUR EYES TO THE FACT THAT THE SAME FORCES WHICH EARLIER APPLIED PRESSURE ON YUGOSLAVIA AND TRIED TO DISCREDIT ITS POLITICAL SYSTEM AND ITS PERMANENT FOREIGN POLICY ORIENTATION ARE NOW TRYING TO LAUNCH THIS CAMPAIGN AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA."

3. PRESS CONFERENCE COVERAGE WAS HEADLINED "OLD FORCES, NEW PRESSURES" ON FRONT PAGE OF "VECERNJE NOVOSTI", YUGOSLAVIA'S LARGEST SELLING PAPER. "POLITIKA" HEADLINE WAS "SFRY ALWAYS OPPOSES BLOC COMPETITION". KALEZIC'S STATEMENT CONTAINED FIRST PUBLIC REPORT OF THE PETITION. HIS REFERENCE TO "FRESH CHARGES" PRESUMABLY REFERS TO MILOVAN DJILAS' RECENT STATEMENTS TO FOREIGN REPORTERS. THESE HAVE NOT BEEN REPORTED IN THE PRESS NOR EVEN IN RED TANJUG, THE RESTRICTED CIRCULATION SUMMARY OF THE FOREIGN PRESS. THE ISSUE OF THE "INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE" CARRYING THE "N.Y. TIMES" ARTICLE ON DJILAS WAS NOT OFFERED FOR SALE ON BELGRADE NEWSTANDS.

4. LJUBISA ACIMOVIC, CSCE EXPERT AT BELGRADE'S INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND ECONOMICS, TOLD POLCOUNS HE HAS BEEN INVOLVED IN SEVERAL MEETINGS TO CONSIDER GOY REACTION TO HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE. HE SAID GOY SEES CRITICISM FOSTERED BY ELEMENTS IN THE WEST WHO WISH TO DISCREDIT YUGOSLAVIA BY ASSOCIATING IT MORE CLOSELY WITH THE SOVIETS. ACIMOVIC BELIEVES THAT GOY WILL NOT REACT STRONGLY (PRESUMABLY HE MEANS BY ARRESTING DISSIDENTS
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 BELGRA 00883 01 OF 02 141138Z

OR LASHING OUT AT WEST). A YUGOSLAV OFFICIAL CONCERNED

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PAGE 01 BELGRA 00883 02 OF 02 141131Z

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R 140845Z FEB 77
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AMEMBASSY ROME
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 883

WITH LABOR AFFAIRS TOLD CHARGE THAT THE GOY IS CONCERNED ABOUT THE IMPACT OF THE PRESENT CRITICISM IT IS RECEIVING ON HUMAN RIGHTS. HE SAID THE GOVERNMENT WANTS TO HANDLE THE PROBLEM SO AS TO ALLOW THE BELGRADE CSCE MEETING TO GO AHEAD SUCCESSFULLY. HE IMPLIED THAT THE SOVIETS MIGHT BE BEHIND THE CRITICISM, TRYING TO DRAW YUGOSLAVIA CLOSER. WE KNOW FROM A SOVIET EMBOFF THAT IN SEEKING GUARANTEES THAT THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE CONTAIN NO SUPRISES, THE SOVIETS REMINDED THE YUGOSLAVS THAT THEY, TOO, ARE VULNERABLE ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE. WHILE THE SOVIETS ARE NO DOUBT PLEASED THAT THE YUGOSLAVS ARE UNDER FIRE, THE INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED IN DISSENT, LIKE DJILAS, ARE PROOF THAT THE PROTEST IS NOT SOVIET INSPIRED.

6. KALEZIC'S OFFICIAL COMMENT APPEARED TOGETHER WITH A TOUGH EDITORIAL REPORTED IN USINFO TELEGRAM) IN NIN A WEEKLY NEWS MAGAZINE. MIODRAG MAROVIC, WHO IN RECENT WEEKS HAS WRITTEN CRITICAL EDITORIALS ABOUT FREEDOM IN EASTERN EUROPE, REVERSED HIS FIELD WITH A BLAST AT THE "THIRD ECHELON" OF EMIGRES FROM THE SOVIET UNION- PEOPLE LIKE SELZHENITSYN WHO WISH TO RESTORE THE OLD SOCIAL ORDER. HE
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 BELGRA 00883 02 OF 02 141131Z

CHARGED THAT THE WORD "DISSIDENT" IS ONLY USED TO DESCRIBE THOSE WHO ARE DESTRUCTIVE OF THE WORLD OF SOCIALISM", ATTACKING THE WESTERN RECORD ON HUMAN RIGHTS HE SUGGESTS SARCASTICALLY, "DISSIDENTS" DO NOT EXIST IN THE BOURGEOIS AND CAPITALIST WORLD, IN SPITE OF "RACIAL AND NATIONAL DISCRIMINATION" AND "SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CRISES", MAROVIC SAYS THAT SOLZHENITSYN AND HIS COLLEAGUES ADVOCATE A HARD LINE NOT ONLY REGARDING EASTERN EUROPE OUT ALSO AGAINST THE SPREAD OF SOCIALISM IN THE THIRD WORLD AND AGAINST NON-ALIGNED, SELF-MANAGING YUGOSLAVIA. THEY CONSIDER DIJILAS AND MIHAJLOV "FIGHTERS FOR THE RIGHTS OF MAN". HE CLOSES BY SUGGESTING THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO LEARN WHAT HIDES BEHIND "THE MASK"WHICH OFTEN BEARS THE HIGH-SOUNDING NAME OF THE STRUGGLE FOR THE "RIGHTS OF MAN".

7. NO FOREIGN JOURNALISTS HAVE YET OBTAINED THE PETITION IN SUPPORT OF CHARTER 77, BUT DIJILAS IS

KNOWN TO HAVE A COPY. A JOURNALIST WHO SAW DIJILAS
FEBRUARY 10 REPORTS THAT HE IS "TENSE" AND COMPLAINING
THAT YUGOSLAV DISSIDENTS LACK ORGANIZATION.

8. DIJILAS IN HIS RECENT INTERVIEWS WITH WESTERN JOURN-
ALISTS USED A FIGURE OF APPROXIMATELY 600 POLITICAL PRISONERS
IN YUGOSLAVIA. THIS NUMBER ACCORDS CLOSELY WITH AN ESTIMATE
MADE BY DEFENSE ATTORNEY JOVAN BAROVIC. HE BELIEVES THAT AT
ANY ONE TIME ABOUT 500 PEOPLE ARE IN JAIL FOR MORE SERIOUS
POLITICAL OFFENSES AND "OVER 100" FOR MINOR POLITICAL INFRACTIONS.
IN 1976, YUGOSLAV OFFICIALS ISSUED A NUMBER OF STATISTICS
ON POLITICAL CRIMES (REFS A,B,C, AND D). ONE CITED 1,154
(ANOTHER PAPER REPORTED 1155) CONVICTIONS FOR POLITICAL CRIMES
IN 1974. IN RESPONSE TO A RESULTING OUTBURST OF CRITICISM,
ANOTHER STATEMENT SAID THAT ONLY 28 OF THESE WERE FOR TERMS
OF OVER TWO YEARS.

9. COMMENT: NO CRACKDOWN ON DIJILAS OR SIGNERS OF PETITION
TO CONSTITUTIONAL COURT HAS OCCURRED THUS FAR.
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PAGE 03 BELGRA 00883 02 OF 02 141131Z

OFFICIAL REACTION HAS BEEN TO ATTACK PRESS CAMPAIGN
"AGAINST YUGOSLAVIA", BUT MAROVIC EDITORIAL SUGGESTS
THAT YUGOSLAVIA MAY ALSO GO ON OFFENSIVE AGAINST WESTERN
RECORD ON HUMAN RIGHTS. AT MINIMUM THEY ALREADY SEE THIS
AS WESTERN PRESSURE ON YUGOSLAVIA ON EVE OF CSCE FOLLOW-UP
MEETING.
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